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A Letter...to the Court of Directors of the East-India Company...with a Postscript

By
Warren Hastings

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A LETTER

FROM THE HONOURABLE

Warren Haſtings, Eſq.

GOVERNOR - GENERAL OF BENGAL,

TO THE HONOURABLE THE

COURT OF DIRECTORS

OF THE

EAST-INDIA COMPANY.

Dated from Lucnow, April 30.

WITH A

POSTSCRIPT,

Dated May 13, 1784.

LONDON:

Printed for J. DEBRETT, oppoſite Burlington-Houſe, Piccadilly.

UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA
AT LOS ANGELES

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TO THE HONOURABLE

COURT of DIRECTORS

OF THE HONOURABLE

United EAST INDIA COMPANY.

Lucknow, April 30, 1784.

HONOURABLE SIRS.

I HAVE judged it incumbent upon me to make trial of every practicable Chance of conveying to you the earlieſt Intelligence of my Arrival at the Place from which this Letter is dated, and of the firſt Effects produced by the Accommodation, which took Place, by the Reſolution of the Governor General and Council, paſſed on the 31ſt of December laſt, and already notified to you by the

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ſucceſſive Diſpatches of your Ships. I ſhall begin the Thread of my Report from that Date.

I ſoon after found that the State of this Country was ſo diſordered in its Revenue, and Adminiſtration, and the Credit and Influence of the Nabob himſelf, ſo much ſhaken by the Effects of the late Uſurpation of his Authority, and the Conteſts which attended it, as to require the Acceſſion of an extraneous Aid, to reſtore the Powers, and Conſtitution of his Government; and I was ſtrongly, and repeatedly urged, to repair hither in Perſon for that Purpoſe.

Theſe Inſtances, though declared to be conformable to the wiſhes of the Nabob Vizier, his Family and Miniſters, having been privately conveyed to me, I repreſented them as ſuch to the Board on the 20th of January, and offered my Services to go to Lucknow, whenever the Nabob Vizier ſhould require it, which I knew from undoubted Authority he would, with his Anſwer to the Notification formally made to him, of the Reſolution of the 31ſt of December.

My

My Reafons for thus anticipating the Occafion were many: the diftracted State of Affairs, which every Sufpenfion of a Day would aggravate; the Seafon of the Collections, requiring the Application of early Exertions for their Security; and my own infirm State of Health, which was not equal to fuftain fo long a Journey, if protracted to the Commencement of the Hot Winds.

My Offer was accepted by a conditional Declaration on the Part of Mr. Wheler, and I made inftant Preparations for the Journey.

On the 14th of February the Nabob's Invitation arrived; I repeated my Propofal, the fame Authority decided its Acceptance, and on the 17th I took my Leave of the Board, and departed from Calcutta, with a fevere Indifpofition, which had feized me fome time preceding, then hanging on me; happily, the Change of Air effected my fpeedy Cure, and on the 27th Ult. I arrived at this Place in a State of Health fo confirmed, as to promife an unremitted Attention to the very important Objects of my Commiffion.

On my way, I had the alarming Perſpective of a Soil ſo completely exhauſted of its natural Moiſture, by the Failure of one entire Seaſon of the periodical Rains, that except the Fields of Grain, which had been kept in Vegetation by the uncommon Labor of the Huſbandmen, and were ſtill clothed with a luxuriant Produce, or retained the Stubble of the recent Harveſt, the Plains exhibited an Appearance of Barrenneſs, ſo dreary, that even the Roots of its former Herbage no longer exiſted, and the deep Ravines, and Beds of Rivers, which I paſſed, threw up Clouds of Duſt from their Channels. Theſe are not Circumſtances of trivial Obſervation, nor are they confined to the Lands of theſe Provinces; every Region of Hindoſtan has felt the ſame angry Viſitation, and another Year of equal Drought, which is not to be expected in the Courſe of natural Events, would put it out of the Reach of human Wiſdom to prevent, or retrieve the dreadful Calamity which muſt attend it.

Yet ſuch is my Reliance on the Gratitude and unbounded Confidence of the Nabob, and his Miniſters, that I dare promiſe, even

at this immature Period, under every Circumſtance, but the dreadful one which I have above ſuppoſed, and which I have ſtated as improbable, a ſucceſsful Progreſs and Termination of the Meaſure which I have begun, equal to any Expectations which may have been formed of it, however ſanguine, if I am not counteracted, and my Operations impeded, by Orders which I may not reſiſt, and am allowed to remain to the Time deſtined for their Perfection; nor ſhall it be a common Obſtruction which ſhall reſtrain me; for I poſſeſs ſuch inherent Advantages as I truſt will prove ſuperior to every Species of Oppoſition, but the laſt Extremity of it. Indeed if ſuch Springs as give the common Movements to popular Opinion, could influence my Proceedings, I have already experienced them in two Inſtances, one of which, I believe to have had the ſpecial Service I am engaged in for its Object, and the other, the general Ruin of my Authority.

I allude, firſt, to a Report fabricated at Fort St. George, of the Arrival of a Ship of War at Bombay, with the authentic Intelligence of my Diſmiſſion with Diſgrace from

my

my Office, which I received at the Inftant that I was fetting my Foot on the Shore at Nuddeah, for the Commencement of my Journey; and fecondly, to a Paper tranfmitted to me by a refpected Authority from Calcutta, containing Strictures on my former Deputation, faid to be Part of a Report of the felect Committee of the Houfe of Commons, which unhappily apply to every Purpofe of this, and which declare (with Horror I repeat it) a Right invefted in the Commander in Chief of the Army, to oppofe the Power delegated by the Government itfelf to its firft executive Member, and to affert that Right by an Appeal to the Army for its ultimate Decifion upon it. The Words of the Report (if it be fuch) to which I allude, are thefe:

"By thefe Inftructions" (that is the Inftructions fent by the Court of Directors to Bengal in the Year 1774 and 1778) "it appears, that the Governor General was pofitively reftrained from the Exercife of any military Power whatfoever beyond the Garrifon and Fortrefs of Fort William; fo that the Delegation and Exercife of all

" military

" military Power beyond the Limits ſo de-
" ſcribed, was a direct and poſitive Diſo-
" bedience of the Orders of the Court of
" Directors."

" Diſobedience of Orders on a Point ſo
" delicate and important as that of wreſting
" the Military Command from the Official
" Military Officer, who was inveſted with
" that Authority by the Orders of the Di-
" rectors, might have been productive of
" Conſequences extremely prejudicial to the
" Service; if the Commander in Chief had
" aſſerted the Right inveſted in himſelf, a
" Contention for executive Power might poſ-
" ſibly have been the Conſequence, and the
" Army, which in India is ſo peculiarly con-
" ſtituted, as to require not only exact Di-
" ſcipline, but the moſt perfect Subordina-
" tion, in Order to inſure Obedience, muſt
" have ultimately decided where that Obe-
" dience was due."

I dare not examine a Doctrine affirmed to be of ſo ſacred an authority; yet I may humbly ſuggeſt that it never was, nor could have been intended to be applied to the actual

Commander in Chief, whoſe Command was originally conſtituted by the Governor General and Council themſelves, and therefore could not be rendered ſuperior to, and independent of the Powers veſted in the Governor General and Council, by an Act of Parliament paſſed before its Exiſtence; nor included in any Inſtructions of the Court of Directors, alſo framed at a more ancient Period, if even at a later; and a Senſe of National Duty ſuperior to every Conſideration of perſonal Safety, or the Reverence which is due to high Office, impels me to denounce, and to date the Fall of the Britiſh Empire in India from the Inſtant that it ſhall be decidedly declared, or underſtood, that any Commander in Chief of the Army, be his Title or Rank what it will, is, or may be, by any conſtructive Power, independent of the Government under which the wiſdom of Parliament hath hitherto placed the Army ſerving in theſe Provinces, and every Member of it, in an implicit, and abſolute Subjection to its Authority.

God forbid, that any future Pizarros, and Almagros, ſhould diſgrace the Annals of your Dominion, or mark the Traces of its Decline, with

with the Blood of your Servants, and Soldiers; but the Conteſt will probably be of ſhort Duration; and happy will it be for the Intereſts of Humanity, if ſuch ſhall be the Iſſue, though dreadful to our own, whatever Period of Time may cloſe it.

Let me add, nor let my Words be uttered in vain, that whenever the fatal Blow ſhall be ſtruck, or from whatever Hand it ſhall proceed, its Effect will be, not a gradual Decay, but inſtantaneous Ruin, for your Exiſtence hangs on the Thread of Opinion, which the Touch of Chance may break, and even that Source, which ought to flow with the Principles of its Duration, will, if productive of the ſame deleterious Streams, which have been lately ſeen to iſſue from it, prove the Cauſe of its Diſſolution.

I am not myſelf apprehenſive of any evil Conſequence, from the partial, and limited Command, which I poſſeſs over your Army, in its tending to provoke a Competition; for in the firſt Place, I will never put it to the Iſſue of a Trial; and in the ſecond, were the Board to permit the Commander in Chief to

come into this Quarter, which is not likely, I confidently hope, that before he could arrive, this Province will have been ſo regulated as not to require any foreign Aid for its internal Protection, nor of Courſe any Exerciſe of the Powers which I poſſeſs, and which he might deem himſelf warranted to reſiſt.

I proceed to repeat the Effects which have been produced to this Time, from the late Accommodation, and the Objects to which I look, for the final Iſſue of it.

Before my Departure from Calcutta I applied through a private Channel to the acting Miniſter, to advance an immediate Supply of Money to your Paymaſter General at Lucknow, for the Subſiſtence of the Troops ſtationed in theſe Provinces, who were then many Months in Arrears, and ſuffered much additional Diſtreſs, from the Scarcity and Dearneſs of Grain. He inſtantly raiſed the Sum of ten Lacks of Rupees, which proved a critical, and effectual Relief.

Since my Arrival, he has made other Payments to a conſiderable Amount. Theſe are

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particularized in the enclofed Account No. 1. in which I have included for your early Information all the Payments made in Liquidation of the Honourable Company's Debt, in the Courfe of the prefent Fuffelee Year, to which all Accounts of the Revenue are by old Cuftom adjufted, and which commences on the 11th of September, to the prefent Time.*

To this I have joined another Account No. 2, ftating the probable Claims of the Company upon the Nabob Vizier, from the Beginning of the prefent to the End of the next Fuffelee Year, or to the End of September 1785.

On both thefe Accounts I fhall offer a few neceffary Remarks. Firft on No. 1. The

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* From the 11th of September, 1783, to the 31ft of January, 1784, received by Mr. Briftow, current Rupees 18,57,873	185,787
From the 31ft of January to the 30th of April, 1784, received by Mr. Wombwell current Rupees 44,97,795	450,000
Total	£635,787

 firft

first Sum of sixteen Lacks of Rupees stated as the Amount of Mr. Bristow's Receipts, is taken from his own Account in the Possession of Mr. Wombwell the Accomptant for this Station, but differs materially from that which has been drawn by the Nabob's Officers, and I have referred it to the Board for Adjustment with Mr. Bristow, who alone can explain the Difference.

The second Article is the regular Produce of the current Revenue: I was early careful to guard the Minister against the Use of violent Measures to anticipate the Periods of Collection, for the Purpose of giving an ostensible Credit to the present System, by swelling the Amount of the Payments, made in Consequence of it, although the Exigencies of your State, induced me to press him to contribute what he could for their Relief, without adding to the Distresses of his own, for the Country will not bear it.

The third Article was obtained by my own Suggestion from Almass Ally Cawn, who complied chearfully and without Hesitation, con-

considering it as an Evidence seasonably offered for the general Refutation of the Charges of Perfidy, and Disloyalty, which have been too laboriously urged against him, and carried at one Time to an Excess which had nearly driven him to abandon the Country, for the Preservation of his Life and Honor, and thus to give a Colour, to the Charges themselves.

It would scarce merit your Attention to be informed, that I have invested a Part of this Supply in Bills of Exchange payable to the Governor General and Council in Calcutta, to the Amount of Five Lacks of Calcutta Siccas; but as it is connected with an Arrangement which may prove a future Advantage to your Interests, in the Reduction of the Hoondyan, or Exchange, from sixteen per Cent. to five and a half, at which it is my Determination to fix it.

I have recommended to the Board to appropriate the Whole of this Article as a Fund for the Payment of the Interest on your Bonds, which had suffered something in their Credit, and current Value, from the Suspension

of

of the Payment of Intereſt ſome Months before I left Calcutta.

The laſt Article is the Balance of the Sum due from Fyzoola Cawn, by the Treaty made between him and the Nabob Vizier through the Agency of Major Palmer on the 16th of February, 1783. Two Lacks of this Amount are now in regular Courſe of Payment; the remaining three are not due by Stipulation till the next Seaſon called Khereef, which is a Period included between the Middle of September and the Middle of February. Some Days after my Arrival, I intimated to his Vackeel, my Wiſh to have both Payments immediately concluded, and his Maſter gave immediate Orders for it.

To this Inſtance of Reſpect for your Government, he has added another, in the Deputation of his Son to Lucknow, to confirm the Aſſurance of his Attachment to the Company, and Britiſh Nation.

What further Sums may be cleared in the Courſe of this Year, of which the moſt productive Part is already paſt, I cannot ſay; but

but it is my Hope, that a confiderable Part of the Nabob's Debt will be liquidated, and the Difcharge of the Remainder enfured by the Engagements of creditable Bankers, fo that it may be wholly cleared within the Courfe of the enfuing Year.

The Account No. 2 is an Eftimate formed on the actual Expence; but will be confiderably reduced, if my future Profpects and Objects fhall be anfwerable to my prefent Expectations. To thefe I proceed.

Firft. My firft Wifh is to realize the Amount of your Demands on the Nabob of Owde to the End of the next Fuffelee Year, and to obtain ample Securities for it, before I depart from him.

Second. My next Care will be to induce the Nabob's Minifters to appoint Bodies of regular Troops for the Support of his Collections, and the internal Defence of his Country. This will preclude the Neceffity of calling for the Aid of our Troops, and I hope may prove the Means of releafing him from the extraordinary, and undefined Sub-

fidy,

ſidy, which he now pays for the great Detachment employed under the Command of Sir John Cumming in Rohilcund, and the Regiments which have been occaſionally demanded, and remain ſcattered over other Parts of his Dominions; and of confining our Defence, and the Nabob Vizier's Payments, to the Brigade ſtationed at Cawnpore, and to the Subſidy paid by Treaty, for its Expence.

Third. My laſt and ultimate Hope is, that when theſe Objects are attained, your Wiſdom will put a final Period to the ruinous, and diſreputable Syſtem of Interference, whether avowed, or ſecret, in the Affairs of the Nabob of Owde, and withdraw for ever, the Influence by which it was maintained.

This Country has no Inlets of Trade by which it can ſupply the Iſſues which are made from it; for excepting the Factory at Tonda, which ſubſiſts by a Contract making Part of your Inveſtment, and the Produce of Opium, and Saltpetre, which is not conſiderable, I do not know any other Articles of Commerce from which it could derive any

Re-

Returns. Therefore, every Rupee which is drawn from its Circulation into your Treaſury, muſt accelerate the Period at which its Ability muſt ceaſe to pay, even the ſtipulated Subſidy. By the Continuance of this Fund, you maintain an Acceſſion *of more than one Half to the military Eſtabliſhment required for the Defence of your own Dominions,* without any Charge on your own Income; and you oppoſe a wide and powerful Frontier to your eventual Enemies.

That Force will continue to be an effectual Safeguard to the Country, which will ſuffer nothing by its Maintenance, becauſe the Specie thus applied will of Courſe flow back into its Circulation; and it is a Tribute which it ought gladly to pay, for its whole Wealth would not in any other Way, yield an adequate Mode of Protection.

Few are the Advocates of the national Intereſts, and their Voice will be faintly heard amid the numerous and loud Exclamations of private Rapacity; but I humbly aſſume to rank myſelf with the former, and to aſſure you, that if you ſeek for a permanent and

profitable Syſtem of Connection with this Country, you muſt confine your Claims upon it to the Line I have recommended.

If you tranſgreſs it, you may extend the Diſtribution of Patronage, and add to the Fortunes of Individuals, and the nominal Riches of Great Britain; but your own Intereſts will ſuffer by it, and the Ruin of a great and once flouriſhing Nation will be recorded as the Work of your Adminiſtration, with an everlaſting Reproach on the Britiſh Name.

To this Reaſoning I ſhall join the Obligations of Juſtice and good Faith, which cut off every Pretext for your exerciſing any Power or Authority in this Country, while the Sovereign of it fulfils the Engagements which he contracted with you.

I have the Honor to be

With the moſt profound Reſpect,

HONORABLE SIRS,

Your moſt obedient

And moſt faithful Servant,

WARREN HASTINGS.

PS.

PS. *May* 13, 1784. This Letter, though purpofely and declaredly written for inftant Difpatch, has been detained by the fudden Appearance of an uncommon Phenomenon, which though in itfelf fimple and unimportant, derived a Magnitude, like the lefs ordinary Events of the Phyfical World, viewed through the Medium of Superftition, from its Operation on the Opinions of Mankind. On the Night of the 11th of laft Month, the Prince Jewan Bukht, who has long held the principal and moft active Part in the little that remained of the Adminiftration of the King, Shah Allum, and is his eldeft Son, being about thirty-fix Years of Age, fled from the Capital, attended only by his Mother's Brother and another Perfon; and rapidly paffing the Bounds of his Father's Dominions, efcaped far beyond the Reach of Purfuit, before his Abfence was difcovered; nor was the firft Direction of his Flight known for fome Days. The King fent circular Orders to every Quarter, that he might be apprehended and fent back to the Prefence. The Nabob Vifier and myfelf received Phirmauns (or Letters to that Effect, and in the fame Terms. We waited three Days to learn the Courfe of

his Route, and as ſoon as it appeared probable that it lay towards this Place, we addreſſed the Prince ſeparately to inform him of the Commands which had been received, the Mortification which theſe would impoſe upon us of with-holding from him the Duties of Reſpect, if it was his Intention to come this Way, and he perſiſted in it, and therefore intreating him not to come. Anſwers were written to the King, with Information of the Part we had thus taken, and the utmoſt we could take in Obedience to his Commands: the Prince in Reply, diſclaimed any Deſign, or Object, but ſuch as were dictated by the moſt devoted Attachment and Zeal for his Father's Intereſts, demonſtrated by his chuſing for his Retreat the Place where the Vizier of the Empire, and the Chief of the Engliſh Nation reſided, who were known to be incapable of abetting him in a different Conduct from that which he profeſſed, and declaring that he would proceed at all Events, truſting his Deſtiny to the Conviction which muſt follow the Integrity of his Intentions. At the ſame Time, I received a Letter from Major Browne, in which he related a private Conference to which he had been admitted by

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the King, and in which his Majeſty had expreſſed his Pleaſure at hearing that his Son had choſen Lucknow for his Retreat, where he would be ſafe from the Conſequences which were to have been apprehended, had he thrown himſelf into other Hands: and his Majeſty enjoined Major Browne, with Repetition and Emphaſis, to write ſo to me. It was accordingly reſolved, to receive the Prince, and of Courſe to pay him all the Honors of his rank, which by the Conſtitution of Hindoſtan, were the ſame as thoſe which were paid to the King himſelf; and this Determination was inſtantly tranſmitted to the King, with our Reaſons for it. In Conformity to this Plan, I accompanied the Nabob Vizier on the 7th Inſtant to the Prince's Encampment, at the Diſtance of about eighteen Miles from Lucknow; and we paid him together the cuſtomary Forms of Obeiſance. On the 9th he entered Lucknow, attended by the Nabob Vizier, myſelf declining, in Oppoſition to the Deſire of both, to bear any principal Part in the Ceremony, though I could not refuſe at the Prince's Inſtance, to appear in it, which I did, following him on Horſeback as a mere attendant; and on the ſame obvious Motives,

Motives, the Prince having desired to be accommodated in a House near to my own, I resigned to him, that which I then occupied, and took immediate Possession of one of the Nabob's, which he had originally provided and prepared for my reception, within the Compass of his own Palace, and immediately adjoining to that which he lived in. I have been minute in detailing these little Particularities, because little as they are in themselves, they are not such in their Effects. The meanest Circumstances of such an Interview will be circulated to every Durbar in Hindostan, and construed the Prognostic of future Events, and in that Inspection may give Birth to them. It was my Duty therefore to avoid every Appearance which might be received as a Symptom of Encouragement, by exceeding the Limits of my present Relation to the Nabob Vizier, as his Guest, and to raise his Consequence, my own and that of the Nation which I represent; being independent of external Shew. I have the Satisfaction to know, that in this Line I have pleased both.

The

The Nabob conducted the Prince to his Capital, feated on the fame Elephant behind him, and attended him to the Houfe appointed for his Accommodation. I paid my Refpects to him there early on the Morning of the 10th, and had the Honour of a long Converfation with him, in which he explained to me all the Motives of his Vifit, and painted the wretched Condition of his Father, which had been the primary Caufe of it, in fuch Strength of Colouring, qualified with fo modeft a Dignity in every Occafion of Reference to himfelf, and fuch a Delicacy of Expreffion, where he touched upon thofe Circumftances of the Royal Sufferings, as might tend to the Diminution of his perfonal Character; as exceed my Powers of Language to do them Juftice in the Recital of them.

I fhall beg leave to deliver the abridged Account of what paffed in the Words of a Letter, which I immediately wrote on my Return to my own Quarters, and with the Impreffion of it recent on my Memory, and difpatched the fame Day to Mr. Wheler for his private Information, and that of the other Members of the Board.

"The

" The Sum was that his Father was a mere
" passive Instrument in the Hands of others,
" and that he had undertaken this Journey at
" the Peril of his Head, because it afforded
" the only Chance he had of a Relief to the
" King, or a Restoration of the Dominion of
" his House; that if he could be the Instru-
" ment of Effecting this, he wished for no-
" thing for himself but the Credit of it, and
" a Conviction in his Father's Mind of his
" having served him with Duty, Zeal and
" Fidelity. He observed that, distressed as
" the Royal Family was, he himself enjoyed
" a Comparative State of Comfort, possessing
" a Jagheer, Horses, Elephants, a Portion of
" Splendor, and domestic Ease and Pleasure;
" that he had voluntarily made a Sacrifice of
" these Advantages, and given his Person to
" Fatigue and Distress, and his Life to the
" Hazard of the Obvious Consequences of
" his Flight, that he might attempt the
" greatest possible Service for his Father, in
" which if he failed, he would either return
" on his Majesty's Command, which, he said,
" impressed him with such Awe, that he
" doubted his Ability, even at this Distance,
" to resist it; or he would go to Calcutta,

" and

" and there folicit a Paffage in a Ship to " England; for he underftood the Voyage " was but Five Months, and if it was longer, " he could bear the Fatigues which others " bore, and accommodate himfelf to any " Situation of Life, which it became him to " accept as a Lot, and to fubmit to it. He " faid, I was not to expect from his Father " any other Letters than fuch as I had already " received, and fuch as were confonant to the " wifhes of thofe who were about his Perfon; " but that he knew his Father's real Senti- " ments, which were of a very different kind, " and I might eafily believe that the King " muft in his Heart, be pleafed with a Con- " duct, which could be attributed to no other " Motive, than that of Fidelity and Attach- " ment, and which could not be productive " of ill, if it failed of the Means of Deliver- " ance, from his Diftreffes. He painted the " Situation of the King's Family, in ftrong " and affecting Colours. The whole of " what he faid on this Subject may be com- " prized in a few Words. In the Courfe " of the laft Twelvemonth the whole Income " which he had received for the Subfiftence " of fo large a domeftic Eftablifhment, from

" a Territory of ſome Extent, and from the
" Rights of an Empire, which once yielded
" many Crores (I think he ſaid ſix) ſcarce
" amounted to a Lack and fifty Thouſand
" Rupees. It was natural, he ſaid, for thoſe
" by whoſe Power the Sultanut, ſuch as it
" was, was ſupported, to endeavour to raiſe
" themſelves to the independent Poſſeſſion of
" it; and to that he could ſubmit; but it
" was the Condition of Vaſſalage and Mean-
" neſs to which the Servants of the King had
" reduced him by degrading him into a mere
" Inſtrument of their intereſted and ſordid
" Deſigns, that he regretted; and this was
" ſuch a Condition as neither his Pride, nor
" the Senſe of Duty would allow him to view
" with Forbearance. It would be impoſſible
" to follow this Diſcourſe through every
" Branch of it, though connected; I have
" haſtily written it, as it occurred to my
" Memory, and may have uſed Repetitions
" which did not appear in its Original Deli-
" very. My Reply ought to be confined to
" its Subſtance. I told him that our Go-
" vernment had juſt obtained Relief, from a
" State of univerſal Warfare, and required a
" Term of Repoſe; that our Whole Nation

" was

" was weary of War, and dreaded the Re-
" newal of it; it would be equally alarmed
" at any Movement, of which it could not
" immediately fee the Iffue or Progrefs, but
" which might eventually tend to create new
" Hoftilities; that I came hither with a li-
" mited Authority, and could not, if I chofe
" it, engage in a Bufinefs of this Nature with-
" out the Concurrence of my Colleagues in
" Office, who I believed, would be averfe to
" it; that the Country of Owde was in a
" difordered State, and the Nabob incapable
" of joining immediately in fuch a Plan, and
" that my fole Bufinefs here, was to affift
" him with the Power and Influence of our
" Government, in retrieving his Affairs,
" which I hoped a few Months would effect,
" and enable him to perform the Duties of
" Loyalty to his Sovereign. In the mean
" time the Prince's Refidence in this Place,
" though he fat ftill and inactive, would be
" of fome ufe; it would be a Check on the
" People at Delhy, who would not dare to
" proceed to further Extremities, but find it
" their Intereft and Policy to make their
" Court to the King, while there was an
" Appearance or Poffibility of his Caufe

 " being

" being espoused from this Quarter, with so
" powerful a Sanction for it; that I would
" represent his Situation to the joint Members
" of my own Government, and wait their Deter-
" mination. In the mean time I advised him
" to make Advances to Madajee Scindia,
" both because our Government was in inti-
" mate, and sworn Connection with him, and
" because he was the effectual Head of the
" Marattah State: besides, I feared his taking
" the other Side of the Question, unless he
" was early prevented. This is all that ma-
" terially passed betwixt us."

It will be proper to add that no Person was either present, or within hearing during this Conference, and that I have yet only made a private Communication of it to the other Members of the Board, as there are many Circumstances related in it which ought not to be exposed to the risk of being publickly known.

Major Browne who is your Resident at the Court of Delhy, left it on the 2d Instant, by the King's Command, on the express Errand of reconducting the Prince to Court, and to

give him an Aſſurance of Pardon for his paſt Tranſgreſſion.

What may be the final Iſſue or even the progreſſive Events of this Viſit, I cannot conjecture, the Scene is too Novel to be judged by any Compariſon, of ſuch as have fallen within the Compaſs of my Experience. I can only promiſe my moſt watchful Care, that it may not lead to any Conſequences, which may involve your Intereſts, interfere with the Oeconomy of my preſent plan, or diſturb the Tranquility of your Poſſeſſions.

I am ſtrongly tempted to mention, and I hope not improperly, one Trait of the Prince's Character, which has fallen within my own imperfect Obſervation. When he arrived at the Place where the firſt Honors where paid him, on his approach to Lucnow, he was devoid of almoſt every neceſſary of Life, and had ſcarce a Change of Raiment for his own uſe: nor was his Situation with Reſpect to the means of Expence, immediately improved on his Arrival at the Place of his appointed Reſidence at the City. To his own Diſtreſſes he appeared inſenſible, or

affected

affected a Spirit of Self-dependence, which raised him above the Consideration of them; but he privately hinted to the Gentleman, who was appointed by the Nabob Vizier, and myself, to attend on him on our joint Behalf, that the King, his Father, was in such a State of Wretchedness, that any Supply of Money, however small, would be an Acceptable Gift; even at the Instant in which I am writing, I receive an additional Evidence of the same Disposition, which whether it be real Benevolence, or let it it flow from whatever Source, is at least commendable, in a Report made to me by the same Channel, which is that of my Persian Interpreter Captain Scott, who is just returned from the Prince, to whom the Nabob Vizier had sent him with a Supply of 15,000 Rupees for his private Expence; and I shall use his own Words written immediately in my Presence for the Recital of it.

" His Highness received the Money with " many Expressions of Thanks, but observed, " that while he knew his Father daily expe- " rienced the greatest Distresses, he thought " it unlawful for him to enjoy the Luxuries of

" of Life; that he wiſhed therefore, the Go-
" vernor and Nabob Vizier would remit the
" Money to the Nabob Mirza, for his Majeſty's
" Uſe. His Highneſs obſerved alſo, that he
" at preſent, from the Attention of the Eng-
" liſh and Nabob Vizier, had many Super-
" fluities, which he ſhould diſpatch to his
" Majeſty in a few Days."

WARREN HASTINGS.

AMONGST the various Charges brought againſt Mr. Haſtings, by Mr. Fox, Mr. Burke, and their Friends in the late Houſe of Commons, and by Lord Carliſle in the Houſe of Lords, during the Progreſs of the India Bill of the laſt Year, there was not one ſo forcibly urged, as the following: that Mr. Haſtings had treated the Nabob Vizier of Owde with Cruelty and Injuſtice. In the ingenious Novel publiſhed by Mr. Dodſley, under the Title of Mr. Burke's Speech, we are told, " that the Vizier is reduced to Sla-
" very, and Indigence; that the Natives of
" In-

" Indoftan have confpired for our Deftruc-
" tion, as a Nation in which no other could
" put any Truft, and who were the declared
" Enemies of the human Species." Mr. Fox with one Dafh of his Pen, ftruck out the Sum of £789,828, the Balance due to the Eaft India Company from the Vizier. One Gentleman in the Houfe of Commons, Mr. Orde, who had been an active Member of the fecret Committee, oppofed to the Blaze of Eloquence with which Mr. Fox had overwhelmed the Houfe, a plain and fimple Fact,
" That whatever the Diftreffes of the Vizier
" might have been, Mr. Haftings was not
" accountable for them. He had contended,
" and juftly, that the Treaty concluded by
" himfelf with Sujah Dowlah, continued bind-
" ing between the Englifh and his Succeffor.
" It was the Majority of the Supreme Council
" who broke that Treaty, and are of courfe
" accountable for what has fince happened."
In Order to prove that Mr. Orde was perfectly right, though the Voice of Reafon and of Truth could not *then* be heard, the following Facts are fubmitted to the Confideration of the Public.

In

In the Year 1764, Sujah Dowlah the Father of the present Nabob Vizier of Owde, invaded the Province of Bahar, but was defeated by the English at the Battle of Buxar, Having been driven out of the greatest Part of his Dominions in the Course of the Campaign, he surrendered his Person to General Carnac in May 1765. Lord Clive, a few Months after this Event, concluded a Treaty of Peace with him, by which he recovered his Dominions, and entered into a strict Alliance with the English. From this Period, till the Year 1770, a third of our Military Force, was stationed in his Dominions, or at Allahabad, and paid by the Extraction of Specie from Bengal. When Mr. Hastings succeeded to the Government of Bengal in April 1772, his Plan was, to confine our Resources and our Expences within the Banks of the Caramnassa; but in consequence of Measures *entered into, previous to his Arrival in Bengal*, a Brigade of our Troops was ordered by Sir Robert Barker, to march to the Assistance of Sujah Doulah, in Order to repel the Maratta Invasion of Rohilcund. The Treaty concluded between Mr. Hastings and Sujah Dowlah in September 1773, con-

E sisted

ſiſted of three material articles: The firſt is, that as the King Shah Allum *(one Year previous to Mr. Haſtings's Arrival)* had quitted our Protection, and granted Sunnuds to the Marattas for the Provinces of Carah and Allahabad, which were expreſsly aſſigned to him for the Support of his Dignity, we ceded theſe Provinces to the Vizier, in conſideration of his paying 50 Lacks of Rupees to the Company. The Second, that when a Brigade of our Troops acted in conjunction with his Forces, his Excellency might defray the whole Expence, which was fixed at two Lacks and 10,000 Rupees a Month. The Third, that if the Rohillas did not comply with the Conditions of the Treaty, to which the Engliſh were Guarantees, we were to aſſiſt Sujah Dowlah, in taking Poſſeſſion of their Country. This was at the Time a Secret Article; but the firſt Propoſition on the Subject was made by Sir Robert Barker in the Month of March 1773.—No Attempt was made by Mr. Haſtings, or his Council to encroach upon the Independence of Sujah Dowlah, or to interfere with him in the Management of his Country; but on his Death in February 1775, the Majority of the Supreme

prême Council determined to pay no * "Regard to the Bonds of Treaty by which they "were connected with his Father. They "considered them as a mere personal Obligation, and avowedly directed the Line "of their Conduct towards the Son, by a "View of drawing from it the greatest possible Benefit to the Company's Affairs; having determined that the specific Conditions of their former Alliance with the "Vizier expired with him." "A Treaty "was agreed to between the Nabob and Mr. "Bristow on the 21st of May 1775, and "confirmed by the Governor General and "Council on the 6th of June following, by "which the Provinces of Corah and Allahabad were guaranteed to the Nabob, and "the stipulated Subsidy for the Service of "the Brigade, was increased to Two Lacks, "Sixty Thousand Rupees per Month. But "the great Point of Advantage which the "Company derived from this Treaty, was "the Sovereignty, and Possession in Perpetuity of the Districts under Rajah Cheyt "Sing."

* 5th Report Secret Committee, &c. Page 96.

"The Advantages, and honourable Sti-
"pulations acquired to the Company by this
"Treaty, are earneſtly pointed out in their
"joint Minute, by Meſſrs. Clavering, Mon-
"ſon and Francis; and they claimed great
"Merit with the Directors, on Account of
"this Meaſure, which they declared to be
"ſtrictly, and excluſively their own, in De-
"ſpite of the Oppoſition given to it by the
"Governor General and Mr. Barwell. It is
"however to be obſerved, that the Governor
"General, in his Remarks upon theſe bene-
"ficial Repreſentations, perſiſted in his pro-
"phetic Apprehenſions, that the Conditions
"of the Treaty could never be fulfilled,
"and therefore ought not to be deemed ad-
"vantageous; neither did he think it ho-
"nourable to have extorted from the Nabob,
"*Conceſſions inconſiſtent with their former Trea-*
"*ties*, to which the Neceſſity of his Situation
"alone obliged him, however unwillingly,
"to ſubmit."

In the Month of December, 1775, the Nabob Vizier applied for Britiſh Officers to command his Troops, The Requiſition was complied with; but in the Month of July, 1777, Mr. Haſtings propoſed, that the

the Regiments in the Vizier's Service, ſhould be put upon the ſame Eſtabliſhment with our own Army; for this he aſſigned Reaſons, which are incontrovertible, and the Vizier aſſented to the Requiſition. In the Year 1779, the Vizier complained very heavily, of the Injury which his Country ſuſtained, from the expenſive Eſtabliſhments kept up in it; and it was then that he wrote the Letter, which Mr. Fox read in the Houſe of Commons: Lord Sandwich, in the Houſe of Lords: and Mr. Dodſley has publiſhed, as Part of an ingenious Romance, entitled Mr. Burke's Speech. When this Letter was received by the Supreme Council, Mr. Francis in ſtrong Terms defended the Propriety of the Vizier's claim, and lamented that our Government was reduced to a Situation, in which it was compelled to renounce the Principles of Juſtice and good Faith, or to incur the Hazard of Ruin. Mr. Haſtings on the other Hand contended, * " that the Syſtem which " has created our preſent Neceſſities, belongs " to the Adminiſtration which formed the " exiſting Treaty with Aſſoph ul Dowlah " The Treaty which was concluded with the

* Select Committee, Appendix to 10th Report, No. 7.

" Nabob

(4085 p.79)

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" Nabob Sujah Dowlah, placed him on the " most respectable Footing, as the Sovereign " of an independant State, and left all his " Rights untouched; and the Duration of " his Alliance with the Company, depend- " ed yet more upon the reciprocal and equal " Advantages which it held out to both Par- " ties, than on the Formality of a written " Compact. This Treaty was broken on his " Death, and a new one, constructed on far " different Principles, was made with his " Son, and Successor, by which the latter " eventually and necessarily became a Vassal " of the Company; and their Interests bound " by such strong, intricate Ties, as must " render it dangerous at any Time to separate " them, *and fatal to both at such a Time as* " *this*."—No Man who knew the State of India at that Period, could doubt the Propriety of this Remark. We were at War with France, and the Marattas. The Vizier had no Bodies of regular Troops to station in his Country, if our Battalions had then been withdrawn. We could not at that Moment disband them; and our own Funds were insufficient for their support. This reasoning had Weight with Mr. Francis; and the

Troops

Troops were continued. In September, 1781, Mr. Haſtings concluded a Treaty with the Vizier, by one Article of which all the Troops under Britiſh Officers were withdrawn from his Country, the regular Brigade excepted, nor were any Regiments to be ſent in future, unleſs at the expreſs Requiſition of the Vizier, in which Caſe he was to pay a ſpecific Sum for their Diſburſements. The civil Eſtabliſhment remained as heretofore. From September, 1781, to December, 1783, there were continual complaints from the Vizier and the Britiſh Reſident, the former complaining of the Reſidents Interference, in his domeſtic Concerns; and the latter, of the general Diſorder and Mal-adminiſtration of his Excellency's Government. Mr. Haſtings propoſed the Abolition of the Reſidency of Owde altogether, and offered to proceed himſelf to Lucknow to aſſiſt the Vizier, in regulating his Country; and in order to receive the Ballances that have been pronounced deſperate. The Succeſs of Mr. Haſtings's Deputation is already detailed. From the 31ſt of January to the 30th of April, 1784, 450,000l. was received. When the Letter was written, the lateſt Intelligence

Mr.

Mr. Haſtings had received from England, was, that Mr. Fox's Bill had been read twice in the Houſe of Commons, and carried ſo far, by a Majority of Two to One; yet in ſuch a Light did the Meaſure appear to Mr. Haſtings, that although he expreſſes the utmoſt Indifference, for the event of it, as it might affect himſelf, he obſerves in a Letter to a Gentleman in London, received a few Days ago "I have received your Letter of November laſt, with the News of the ſecond Reading of Mr. Fox's Bill. I will not believe it can paſs. It is a Profligacy beyond Example." &c. &c. It will doubtleſs be a Subject of Wonder to future ages, that a Miniſtry formed of Men who had loſt America and the Weſt Indies, either by the weak and indeciſive Meaſures of one of its compenent Parts, or the intemperate, unceaſing oppoſition of the other, ſhould combine for the Purpoſe of diſgracing the Man who had preſerved the Empire of Aſia, committed to his Care, and under whoſe Auſpices, Conqueſts had been made from our European Enemies, by the ceſſion of which very important

portant Territories were ſecured to Great Britain in the Weſtern World.

However the firſt Ground may have been changed, every Man of common Obſervation muſt know, that Mr. Fox originally urged the Neceſſity of a Bill for the Regulation of India, on account of the Miſmanagement of Mr. Haſtings, "who diſſipated the Revenues of "Bengal, diſobeyed the Orders of the Com-"pany, and oppreſſed Thirty Millions of Peo-"ple." Theſe Topics ſlightly touched upon by Mr. Fox, were conſiderably detailed by Mr. Burke, in the Novel publiſhed by Mr. Dodſley. If Gentlemen will have the Curioſity to read this Performance, and Mr. Fox's Speeches, while his Bill was in the late Houſe of Commons, and compare them with the actual State of the Company, they will perceive how groſsly the Coalition Miniſtry were miſinformed as to the Affairs of India. Every Statement of Tranſactions of a former Date, which was made by the laſt Adminiſtration, has been proved erroneous. Every Prediction is falſified by the Events. * Lord Ma-

* The Speeches of Mr. Fox, Mr. Burke, Mr. Gregory, Sir Henry Fletcher, &c. &c. &c.

cartney has not been ſuſpended, nor was he at any Time in Danger of ſharing the Fate of Lord Pigot. The Maratta Peace has not turned out a mere Truce, the ſeparate Treaty with Madajee Sindia has not involved us in a War with Tippoo Sultaun, nor will it plunge this Nation into a War with France. The Debts due from the Nabob Vizier of Oude, the Nabob of the Carnatic, and the Raja of Tanjore, are recoverable without the Britiſh Government being reduced to the cruel Neceſſity of aiding them in Wars on their innocent People. The Diſobedience of Orders, which, though ſo loudly proclaimed, is confined to the Caſes of Mr. Briſtow, and Mr. Fowke, has been ſo fully explained, that no Man of common Underſtanding can cenſure Mr. Haſtings on that Head; yet it was laſt Year aſſigned as one of the firſt Reaſons for violating the Britiſh Conſtitution; and to all theſe were added, that moſt curious of all Arguments, That the Eaſt India Company was compoſed of the Servants of the Servants in India. It required all the Ingenuity of Mr. Burke, to ſupport ſo extraordinary a Prepoſition; but it is fully contradicted by

Facts.

Facts, Any Man who reads the Lift of Stockholders will find, that of the 1400 qualified Proprietors, there are not more than 100 who have been in India, and of thefe many are connected with the late Adminiftration.

Without entering further into Detail, let us oppofe our actual Situation in India, to what the late Adminiftration ftated it to be, when they brought in their Bill of Confifcation. Peace is univerfally reftored, and we have not an Army in the Field, in any quarter of Indoftan. The Bengal Detachment which had fervedwith fo much Glory in Guzzerat, arrived on the Banks of the Jumna, the 3d of February, and the fix youngeft Regiments of Sepoys in Bengal were difbanded in confequence of their Return. The Bengal Detachment under Colonel Pearce, which had been fo highly diftinguifhed in the Carnatic, was arrived on the 1ft of May, at Mafulipatnam on its return to Bengal, and would be in the Neighbourhood of Calcutta in Auguft. A further Reduction of the Army was then to take place. All the Corps in Bengal

had been reduced to a Peace Eſtabliſhment And every Sepoy Regiment from 1000 to 780 Rank and File. Reductions had alſo been made both at Madraſs and Bombay, to a conſiderable Amount. The enormous Expences which are naturally attendant upon a State of War had ceaſed; and the People of England, who heretofore have been led away, by the intereſted Miſ-repreſentations of Parliamentary Orators, will, at a future Period, recollect this ſtriking Fact, That while Great Britain contracted a Debt of One Hundred Millions, in an unfortunate, and calamitous War, loſt thirteen Colonies in America, ſeveral Iſlands in the Weſt Indies, Minorca in Europe; and at leaſt One Hundred Thouſand of her Soldiers and Sailors; the Government of India, not only preſerved the Britiſh Empire entire in that Quarter of the Globe, but actually conquered every Settlement belonging to France, and Holland, in Indoſtan; and concluded a ſeparate Peace with the Marattas, before Tranquility was reſtored to Europe; and after performing theſe ſplendid Services, the Debts of the Company in India, do not

equal

equal at the present Moment, one Year of their net Revenues.

No Man who recollects the many extraordinary Events, which followed the Change of Administration in March 1782, will be furprized, that at that Period the Cause, and Conduct of Mr. Hastings should have been misrepresented, and that a Majority of Forty Three Members of the late House of Commons should have voted it necessary to recal him, because in the Opinion of some of his Majesty's Ministers, he had forfeited the Confidence of the Natives of India. The same Men recalled Lord Rodney, at a most critical Moment, although he had been more successful, and had added more Ships of the Enemy to the British Navy, than any one Officer in his Majesty's Service.

Whatever the Opinions of the Gentlemen who voted for the Removal of Mr. Hastings, might have been at that Period, it is an Insult to common Sense, to suppose, there is any Man coversant in the Affairs of India, who will now assert, that Mr. Hastings has forfeited

feited the Confidence of the Native Princes of Indoſtan. It was his Misfortune in 1782, to be oppoſed by a Miniſtry, who were in general very little verſed in the Affairs of India. Even at a Period much later, Mr. Francis declared in his Place, in the Houſe of Commons, that he believed he was the only Member who had read all the Reports of the Committees. This was going too far perhaps, but it is a notorious Fact, that in 1782, the Rockingham Party drew all their Information from Mr. Burke, who has told the Public in his Romance ‡, " That if he has learnt any good " Leſſons, he learnt them from Mr. Francis; " from whoſe Materials, even thoſe who " have leaſt acknowledged it, have ſpoken " as from a Brief." How far it was conſiſtent with Juſtice; or Reaſon, that a Man who has ſerved his Country, and the Eaſt India Company, above thirty-four Years, in Offices of the firſt Importance in India, ſhould be condemned upon the Repreſentations of

‡ See Mr. Burke's Speech, of the 2d of December, 1783, printed by Dodſley.

his

his political Enemies, the People of England have determined, and it ought to operate ſo far as a Warning to thoſe reſpectable Men, who are called the Rockingham Party in this Kingdom, as to prevent them in future from being led away by the Prejudices and Paſſions of Men, whoſe Talents are inferior to their own.

F I N I S.